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CHIEF JUSTICE DALY, LL.D.,

President of the American Geographical Society.

DEAR SIR: I desire to place in your hands a summary statement in regard to the results of some geographical studies in which I have been engaged.

The time when my completed paper, with the accompanying sketches and maps, will be ready for publication depends upon two or three considerations which I cannot control. Meanwhile, it seems proper that I should deposit with you a brief record of the discoveries I have made.

They are

- 1. The site of the Landfall of John Cabot in 1497.
- 2. The site of the Fort Norumbega of the French, on the banks of the river bearing the same name; and of the Indian settlement near the fort,—the Agoncy of Thevet; and near it the Norumbega of Allefonsce, visited in 1569 by the sailor Ingram and his companions of the unfortunate expedition of Sir John Hawkins.

I submit herewith a brief outline of the considerations on which my conclusions rest.

I.

On the map of Michael Lok (1582), of which the copy in Hakluyt (Divers voyages touching the Discovery of America) prefacing the relation of John Verrazanus, p. 55, is here referred to, you may recall between latitudes 42° and 51° N., and between the meridians of 300° and 320°, a large island, and on it, in prominent letters, Norombega,

and in lesser letters, John Gabot, 1497. The point of land against Claudia, a smaller island, is between 42° and 43° N.

This fragment of the map, not including the inscription "Jac Cartier 1535," and the coast-lines of the region above, but taking in the outline of the neighboring shore southward to Carenas, the latitude, the names Carenas, Montes Johannis, Claudia, St. Johan and Cape Breton, I have taken to be a sketch, produced by John Cabot on his return from his voyage, early in August, 1497,* of what he observed between the morning of the 24th of June and the date of his departure from our shores.

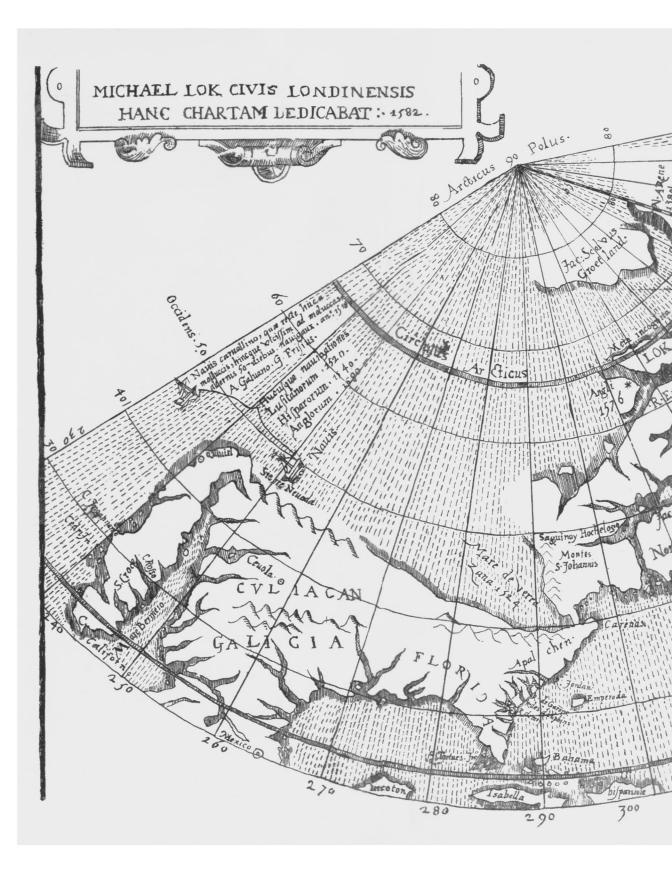
The safety of this assumption will be seen as the considerations on which it rests are unfolded.

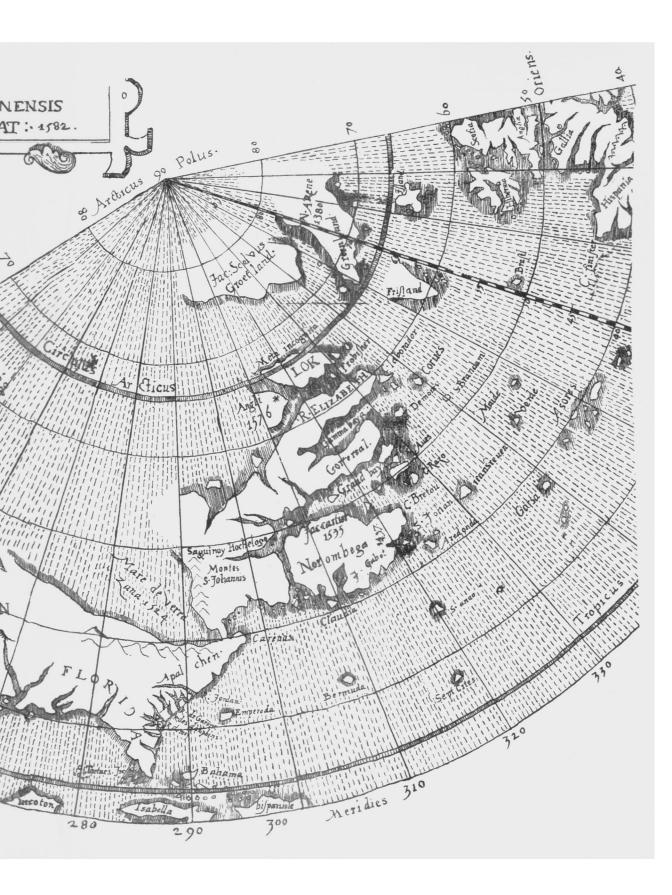
John Cabot believed his landfall, like that of Columbus, five years before, to have been on an island. The site of the landfall has been lost. When it shall have been found we may know who, first in the fifteenth century, saw the continent of America; for Columbus came upon the main land (South America) in 1498; and Vespucius a year later.

The map of Lok presents Carenas (enough recalling Kjalarness of the Norsemen to suggest heirship), the C. de Arenas in various forms, of so many maps of the sixteenth century, the Cape Cod of Gosnold, and, as seems to be determined by the flags on Cosa's map of 1500 (Dr. Kohl, Maine His. Col.), the southern limit of Cabot's explorations in 1497.

The outline of Cabot's chart, and especially that of

^{*} The elaborate paper on John Cabot, by Mr. Charles Deane, in Winsor's America, leaves no question unsettled as to 1497 being the year of the first voyage of John Cabot to our shores.





Cosa's, suggests a general resemblance to the coast as far north as the mouth of the Merrimack, which is, by Lok I conceive, confounded with the St. Lawrence, discovered as recorded on the same map, in 1535, by Jacques Cartier.

I take the Norombega (or Norumbega) to be the name which (like Carenas) Cabot did not bestow, but *found*. He gathered, naturally, in the absence of a knowledge of the language spoken by the natives, that it was the name of a *locality*, in the sense of a district, or settlement or country. This notion, which students all alike have inherited, has obscured research in regard to the landfall, from that day to this. It was a mistaken notion, as will become obvious farther on.

Dr. Trumbull has pointed out that each Indian geographical name was descriptive of the place to which it was affixed. There were no meaningless proper names. A locality was recalled, to the Indian, by presenting a mental picture in a descriptive term. So there were repetitions of the same name where there were repetitions of the same topographical features.

When Captain John Smith, in 1614, standing on the little peninsula between the modern Jones River (the Rio San Antonio of the preceding navigators) and the outer harbor or bay between Plymouth and Duxbury, asked the name of the site of the cluster of huts Champlain had figured, and which on Verrazano's map (so I conjecture) is represented as Lunga Villa, on the other side of the stream, the reply was Accomac, "the other side place." The same reply was elicited on enquiry, and the name has been preserved, as to the peninsula east of the Chesa-

peake,—Accomac, "the other side place." The same name, with dialectic variation, was applied to England, the home of Roger Williams, by the Indians of the Narragansett tribe,—Accomac, "the other side country."

As there were many "beyond lands" (accomacs), so there were many "falls" (pautuckets); many "hills" (wadehus); many "ponds" (baugs, paugs), &c.

There were, of course, different names for the same place, determined from the point of view of the observer; as for Boston, Sha-um-ut, "near the neck,"—the settlement between Haymarket Square, the head of an ancient cove—and Dock Square,—(Blackstone); also, Mushau-womuk, the "canoe landing place" (Indian books of 1699 and 1700); also, Accomonticus, the "beyond-the-hill-little-cove" (Ogilby's America, 1671); also, Mess-atsoo-sec, the "great-hill-mouth" (Rasles, and Wood's N. E. Prospect*). All were Indian names of Boston. All were descriptive.

The same name was applied to objects possessing some greatly unlike qualities, but having others in common; as *Mi-sha-um*, the "great-parallel-sided," was the name of Charlestown Neck, *great* as compared with Copp's Hill, the north extension of the *Sha-um*, "the neck" of Boston. *Mi-sha-um* was also the name of Charles River (Wood's N. E. Prospect), the "great-parallel-sided."

It is also the name of canoe—*Mi-sha-on* or *Mi-sho-on*—and of the long, straight trunk of the tree from which the canoe is made (Heckwelder).

As there were no proper Indian geographical names, and as Norumbega was descriptive of topographical or

^{*} Wood gives the modified Massachusets.

hydrographical features, the first task was to find its meaning. That might help in finding the locality. To this end aid was long sought in vain in vocabularies. It seemed an obvious Algonquin word. But in any form of ready recognition—any form that familiar dialectic variation would include, at least within the range of my limited study—it eluded my search.

Feeling sure on the point that the name was descriptive of some locality on or near the sea-shore, and therefore embracing probably both land and water, I began by placing the Indian geographical names of the region of the Atlantic coast from the St. Lawrence to Long Island, N. Y., in columns against their respective latitudes along the outline as given in the chart of the United States Coast Survey.

On glancing through the names so arranged, I remarked a striking peculiarity. The names grew easier of utterance as one moved southward. Quebec on the St. Lawrence became Ahquebogue on Long Island, N. Y.

Kennebec (of Maine, the Aghenibékki of Rasles) became *Quinnebequi*, and farther south *Quinnebaug*, *Quirripiohke*, and lastly *Quinnepyoohgq* on Long Island Sound. *Keag* became *Quag*, *Quaog* and *Quau-ogue*, (*Quohog*).

As one moved southward from a region where the conditions of living were hard to where they were less exacting; from the region where life was perpetual struggle to a region where there was relative leisure; where there were more extended manufactures (wampum), more commerce (furs), more decoration—the names became softer:—as they become softer as one goes from Norway southward to Italy or Spain.

Bec, as the terminal syllable of a name north of the Merrimack, was not found south of the Charles, but in its place, as already intimated, appeared baug.

Between these rivers we might look for an intermediate form; we should find the *southern* limit of *bec*, or as spelled by Rasles (as above) *be-ki*, and by Father Vetromile *be-ghe*, making two syllables; and we should find the *northern* limit of *baug*.

We do not know how John Cabot thought the Indians pronounced the last two syllables of Norumbega; whether as if requiring two e's, thus, *beega*, or but one, as in *beg*. The French of later date wrote it *bégue*.

Of the Indian names preserved from the days of Captain John Smith (1614), along the coast between the Merrimack and Charles, there are but two, or at most three, that begin with *N—Naumkeag*, *Nahant* and *Nantasket*; the latter the headland on the south side of the entrance to Boston Harbor, the mouth of the Charles.

Naumkeag, or Nahumbeak, is the ancient Indian name of Salem. The first occurrence of the name in print is in the record of the intrepid Captain Smith. It will be remembered that, landing on the island of Monahigan [or Manigan,] off the coast of Maine, after instructing a portion of his ship's company to collect fish, he coursed with a boat's crew of eight beside himself, from the mouth of the Penobscot to Cape Cod, looking into and sounding the harbors, and acquiring the Indian names of the places along the shore, and some of those inland. Among these was Naembeck, sometimes written by him Naemkeck, apparently with indifference, or as if he thought the first letter of the terminal syllable might be either b or k.

He placed these names upon his outline map of the coast, and, on his return to England, published it with an account of his discoveries, together with a scheme for colonizing New England. While seeking in various ways to awaken interest in his project among the English people, he met with no little opposition; and fell at length upon an advertising idea, as we shall see, of far-reaching influence. He invited the eldest son of the King, Prince Charles, then a boy of fifteen or sixteen, the future Charles I., to attach such English names to the localities bearing the Indian names as might be acceptable to his Royal Highness, and so obliterate the barbarous names. The Prince acquiesced. He gave names to sites of towns, bays, capes, mountains, &c., of which four only have been retained— Cape Ann (named after his Royal mother), Plymouth, which came to be occupied by emigrants of the Mayflower fleet, Charles River, of which Smith gives the Indian name Massachusets, and Cape Elizabeth.

The Prince, like Smith, conceived the names to be proper names. Ogilby (1671) imbibed the same notion. He says, in his detailed account of the settlement of the earlier New England towns; the "Indian name of Salem was Nahumbeak." We have already seen John Cabot's inscription of Norumbega as a country. As intimated above, it will be seen that the name was a mere descriptive appellation, permanent only to an observer from a given point, and changing from Nahumbeak to Nahum-keak with change in the point of observation. The name of to-day is Naumkeag.*

This name—Nahumbeak—is the only name preserved to us between the Merrimack and the Charles, that at all suggests Norumbega.

^{*} This point is discussed at length in my full paper.

II.

Let us now proceed with the study of the meaning of the word.

The word is resolvable into two members: beak, of which we have already learned something, and a remainder, Nahum, to be the subject of special study.

Beak may be divided into two syllables, be and ak.

The first syllable appears in the Delaware language according to Zeisberger, m'bi; or in the Narragansett, n'pi, or n'p. Rasles gives for the Abnaki dialect, nearly the same—neb. In its combinations m' and n' are dropped, and what remains means water, in the abstract; or, possibly, as there seems to be indication of it, water as a beverage.

The second syllable is what remains of *ahke*, land. This corresponds with, and is a dialectic variation of, *auke* (Roger Williams), and *ohke* (of regions farther south).

The combination without abbreviation would give us beahke, which with an accute accent, corresponds nearly with the word bé-ghe, given by Father Vetromile as the pronunciation of the Penobscot Indians of to-day.

This word, according to Vetromile, means "still water." According to the old Penobscot Indian hunter, John Pennowit, whose authority Mr. L. L. Hubbard relies upon, it means "dead water," that is, "water without current."

Such water farther south might be called a *pond*, ending in baug or paug (e. g., Quinnebaug, Ponkipaug), or, as nearly enclosed "dead water" between rapids above and below, such as Father Vetromile encountered when enquiring for Norumbega (what the voyageurs called Nolum-beghe); or it would be a bay or harbor, such as Naumbeak.

Be-ak or beah-ke, or be-ghe or be-ga, would apply to the harbor of Salem, between Marblehead and the Beverly shore, inside of Baker's Island, or of the many "Breakers" of the Coast Survey map.

These four forms differ but little from each other, or they glide into each other, and are quite within the limits of dialectic variation; indeed, within the limits of such possible deviation as might occur in the utterances of neighboring settlements, and altogether within the range of deviations in names such as the Indian name of dog, as will be seen further on.

It may be accepted, then, that the two syllables in be-ak are the dialectic representatives of the two syllables in be-ga, and mean water without current, as the water of a bay.*

Let us now turn to the first two syllables of Nahum-beak. These occur in modification, in the various ways of writing the same name by Smith, Ogilby, Wood, Gookin, Lothrop, and others, for example:

N a hum (Ogilby gives the aspirate).

N a um.

N a am.

N a em.

Nam.

Nehim.

Nem.

^{*} I find in Conn. His. Soc., Vol. II., page 15, in Dr. Trumbull's paper on Indian Geographical names, under 4—"Paug, pog, bog (Abn, -bega, -begat; Del. pecat;) an inseparable generic, denoting water at rest."

I had sought for the word bega, as a "separable generic," in Rasles' Dictionary, but without success. Dr. Trumbull had been more thorough. What I had deduced with some circumstance, was thus confirmed in the most direct and satisfactory manner. It came to me only after my letter had been placed in the hands of Judge Daly for publication.

It may be questioned whether Bega is an "inseparable generic." In Ingram's relation we have both Bega and Norumbega.

Rasles lived and wrote at Norridgewolk, on the Kennebec, not far from the southern limit of the Abnaki country, and of the prevalence of their dialect.

The first syllable is sometimes No, sometimes Na, sometimes Noa, and of still other forms of which mention is made by Trumbull.

It means—middle, dividing, between, separating.

Rasles gives for *midway*, Na-wi-wi.

Wi means way. In this word the syllable wi is repeated, that is, there are two ways. Midway is where the two ways come together, or where the single way is divided into two ways.

Na-sha-wi (Nashaway) is a word frequently used by Eliot in his translation of the Bible into the Massachusetts dialect. Sha, which means parallel-sided, * with the prefix na and the suffix wi, is used by him as the Indian equivalent of "between the walls" (of a street, e. g.). Na-na-sha-wi or we, (na repeated for emphasis) he employs for "in a strait betwixt two."

Na by itself, in which form it does not occur, would be a preposition; but combined with um, (or wum or un or on?) in the Massachusetts [Natick] dialect it is converted into a substantive.

As sha (parallel-sided) with um becomes the noun Shaum (neck); so na between or separating, with um, becomes the noun Na-um (divider).

Na-sha-un is the "parallel-sided" island between Buzzard's Bay and the Vineyard Sound (Nau-shaun).

Na-sha-onk (onk means upright) is throat—" *Middle of the parallel-sided-upright*." Mun-na-onk, (Mun means elevation) "*elevation—in middle—of upright*," is also

^{*} The etymology is discussed at length in my full paper.

throat, or, more especially, the middle projection, the larynx.

We have thus pointed out the meaning of Nahum.

It is "divider."

In combination with beak, it is "divider of the bay."

That which divides a bay—a tongue of land rising from the bottom of a bay, which makes two bays, is a *Nahum*.

The meaning of

Nahum-beak is Divided Bay, or Divider of the Bay.

Nahum applies to Salem Neck, which divides the waters of Beverly shore—the North River, locally so-called, from the South River, beyond which is Marblehead.

We have seen how beak is the dialectic equivalent of bega.

How are we to see Nahum the equivalent of Norum, or Norem, or Norim, &c., as the name appears in Norombega on different maps of the Sixteenth Century?

We have, happily, an historic instance of parallelism of dialectic variation.

Roger Williams, Eliot, Experience Mayhew, and Josiah Cotton, and several more modern writers have been impressed with and remarked upon the dialectic variation in the pronunciation or spelling of the Indian name of dog.

It is Ayem, Narragansett (Roger Williams).

" " Alum, Narragansett and Nipmuk (Eliot).

" " Anúm, Massachusetts, Um produced (Eliot).

" " Aunum, Massachusetts (Wood's N. E. Prospect).

" " Annúm, Massachusetts (Cotton).

" " Arum, Northern Abnaki.

" " Attum, Etchemin.

The primitive root here is the simple bark \ddot{a} , to which, with an intervening consonant, the syllable um is joined, which makes a "substantive" in the dialect spoken in this region.

Eliot remarks, as mentioned above, that the sound of u is *produced*, that is, it is like oo. This provides for one of the sounds of o in the second syllable of Norom—um may become oom or, perhaps, $\bar{o}m$. The first syllable was, in Eliot's day, sometimes spelled No, as well as Na, as already remarked.

Between these two syllables, a and um, there might be interposed a variety of consonants. As there was no r in the Narragansett language, according to Roger Williams, they substituted the letter l, or omitted the consonant altogether as in Ayem. The interchangeability of l and r in the Algonquin has been remarked upon by Williams and Eliot and Cotton and Mayhew, and every modern writer upon Indian dialects. Williams' Key appeared in 1643.

In some combinations in Indian (Algonquin) words the interchangeability or alternateness, includes n with l and r (e. q. Quille, quirri, quinni).

We have thus pointed out the dialectic equivalency of the several elements of Norumbega with those of Nahumbeak.

We may have Na or No and l or r with um or om or em or im; or neither l nor r, but simply um or hum, and beghe or bega or beak or $b\acute{e}gue$.

Where, instead of a bay divided by a tongue (Norum or Nahum) of land, there are head-lands, divided by a tongue (Norum or Nahum or Naum) of water, as Marblehead and Marblehead Neck, there was Na-um-Keak (Keak—ahkeahke). Naumheag may not be the equivalent of Naum-

keak. The termination eag occurs in instances where there is shallow water, and in some cases where the bottom is bare at low tide. It was applied by the Indians, in relatively recent times, to the North River at Salem (His. of Old Naumkeag). The Naum or Tongue may be merely the deeper bed of the river separating the shallower waters on either side. Both Naumkeag and Nahumbeak occur on sheets of water inland as well as along the seashore.*

Norumbega may, like Naumbeak, apply to any bay from the bottom of which rises a narrow tongue.

It is obvious, therefore, that the determination of the meaning of Norumbega and its identity with that of Nahumbeak has made it—at the best—probable, that the Nahumbeak of Salem Harbour is the Norumbega of Cabot. It has also made it *probable* that the Norumbega of Cabot is to be found in the belt of latitude in which meet the terminal syllable *bec* which prevails at the North, and the terminal syllable, its dialectic equivalent, *baug*, which prevails at the South.

TTT.

If we look carefully at the sketch of John Cabot on Lok's map of 1582, we may remark that the *outline of the* shore against the island Claudia rudely resembles the cap-

^{*}It is not worth while to point out in this summary the wide range of dialectic variations of these words which I have found. A few may be alluded to. There is Naam-keake on the Pond Annannieumsic, in Chelmsford, near Lowell. Another is concealed, near the Merrimack, in Amoskeag; less perfectly in Naumkeag; more deeply in Nehim kek, in Namskaket, in Namasket, and in half a dozen or more of others, all of which have been the subject of discovery in the detailed town maps of Massachusetts, and of investigation in early Massachusetts history.

ital letter M, the V portion between the two columns corresponding with the tongue or Norum.

If you take a tracing of the outline of this bay on Lok's map, and apply it to the map of Cosa (1500), you will find the Norumbega, or the letter M, within a large island and not far from the Cabo de Yngla-terra—(the Cape Breton of Cabot, the Cape Ann of to-day).

I conjecture this portion of the coast was furnished by one of Cabot's crew.*

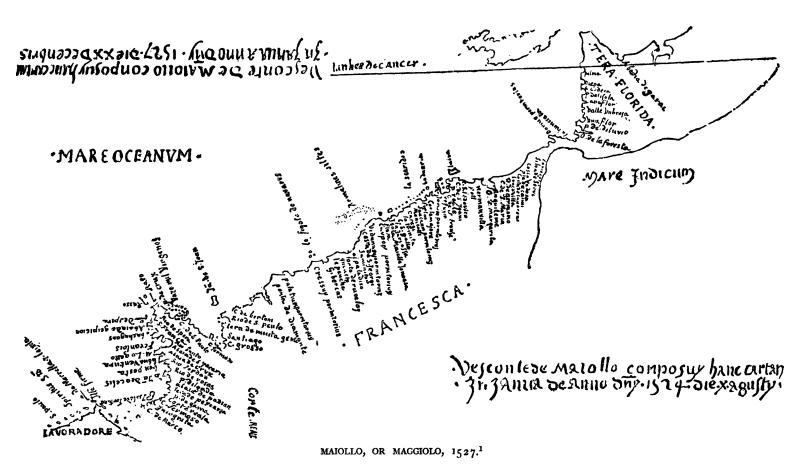
You find the M—this Norumbega—on the map of Thorn (1527), who claimed that his father was with John Cabot in 1497.

You find the M on the map of Verrazano. If you will note in the letter of John Verrazano to the King, one of the two bays he visited where he found the tide *eight feet* (which range is attained north of Cape Cod), you will find the letter M—the Norumbega—the *divided bay*, figured there. It was here that he remained fifteen days.†

You will find the Port du Refuge, Port Real and La Paradis, mentioned by Thevet, on Gastaldi's map, 1550, and the two former names, together with the letter M, on the map of Hieronymus Verrazano. The map of Gastaldi still retains the shadow of Cabot's sketch, and of Cosa's Straits—(the notion of the margin of an archipelago).

^{*} What so natural as that the sailor who had been, as I conceive, with Cabot, and had perhaps shipped with Cosa (who was not personally on the shore of New England), should have given prominence to the feature which had challenged the attention of himself and shipmates? A careful examination of Jomard's Cosa's map will show that twice the contributor reduced the length of the tongue, rising from the bottom of the bay, as his judgment required, in the sketch which Cosa has preserved, and with it the sites of the English flag.

[†]There is another key, besides the tide, to the localities on the map of Hieronymus Verrazano, in the isthmus which separates the Mare Verrazana of



You will observe Refugium and Porto Reale and, possibly, the M on the globe of Ulpius.

You will find the name Nurumberg and the letter M with Refuge Real and Paridis, with Cape Breton; and Claudia replaced by Brisa I. on the map of Ruscelli, 1561. (Brisa is French for breakers; see *breakers* indicated on Coast Survey Map).

Buno [Buno's Cluverius] names as belonging to *Norumbegua*, these several places, viz.: Porto del Refugio, Porto Reale, Paradiso, Flora, and Angolema.*

The M is not given on the map of Champlain, 1603, nor on that of Smith, 1614.

The M appears at Salem in great distinctness on Winthrop's map (1634), together with Baker's Island, under which he anchored, in 1630, as Cabot is conceived to have done June 24th, 1497, one hundred and thirty-three years before.

Finally the M appears at Salem on the Coast Survey Map, with Baker's Island (Brisa or Briso) and breakers

Lok's map from Massachusetts Bay; see, also, the maps of Agnese 1536, Ptolemy 1540, Ruscelli 1544, and the globe of Ulpius. This isthmus is the narrow part of the Cape Cod peninsula, in the neighborhood of Barnstable where it is even less in width than the six miles given by Hieronymus Verrazano:

"Da questo mare orientale si vede il mare occidentale. Sono 6 miglia di terra infra l'uno a l'altro." "From this Eastern Sea one beholds the Western Sea. There are 6 miles of land between the one and the other."

East of this isthmus lies the puzzling extension of the peninsula of Cape Cod, the Terra Florida of Verrazano, 1524, and of Thevet, 1556; the Cape Norumbegue of Allefonsce, 1540-45. It is shown on Maiollo's map.

*The various forms of this name, as given on Ruscelli's map—Angoulesmes, on Gastaldi's, Angoulesme, and the same in Thevet's account, all follow the Anguileme of Maiollo's Verrazana, and apply, I conceive, to Charles River. This conception has support in that one of the names of the Charles was the descriptive Mi-sha-um—the great-parallel-sided—or *Eel-river*, of which Anguileme may be the French equivalent.

designated as outer, inner, middle, dry, southeast, &c., studding the outer harbor.*

The identity of the outline M with the earlier Norumbega and the later Nahumbeak and the present outline of Salem Harbor will be obvious on a glance at the outlines from Lok, down to the Coast Survey, which I submit herewith.

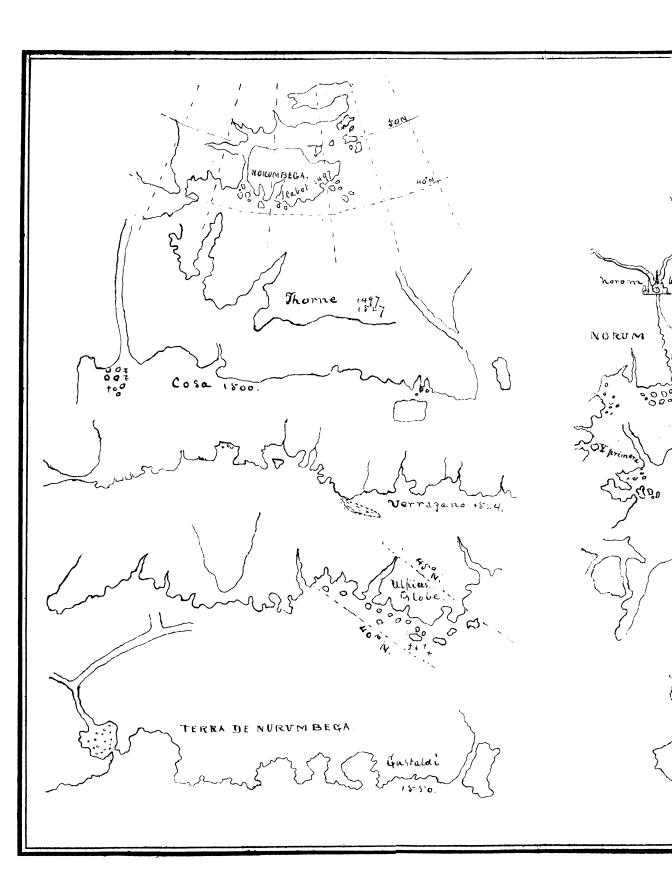
The island off the letter M is seen on the map of Lok (John Cabot's sketch, Claudia); without name on Gastaldi's; as Brisa I. on Ruscelli's; as St. Nicolaus de la Trinidad, on Cosa's; Luisa (possibly Marblehead Neck, formerly an island), on Verrazano's (Maiollo's and Hieronymus Verrazano's); and islands without name, off Refugium and Porto Reale on the globe of Ulpius. It is also given on Thevet's map, in about its proper position as Claude †

IV.

I have further taken the names and distinctive features on Cabot's sketch in Lok's map and have traced them through a long series of maps down to the time of Winthrop, with the successive accessions of new names, and from time to time the disappearance of others, either by dropping out or by replacement, showing, as it were, dovetailing, which binds the series of maps together.

^{*}As lending support to the notion that the name "Baker's," which was attached to the island as early as 1630 (History of Naumkeag), may have been a corruption of "breakers," it may be mentioned that I have sought in vain, in all published lists of emigrants in the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies of dates earlier than 1630, for the name of Baker.

[†] The claim for the identity of Claudia with the islands mentioned, may seem to be impaired when it is seen that Mercator (1569) separates Claudia and Briso (Brisa) widely from each other, and when it is further seen that both Mercator and Wyfliet (Augmentum to Ptolemy, 1597) give Yla primera, as distinct from Claudia, and both from Briso. But I refer for the detailed consideration of this apparent objection to my full paper.



Ruscelli 1861. Q NOROMBEGA nommbega. NURUM ragano 15:4. ald i United States Early (1498) came the confusion growing out, possibly, of Sebastian Cabot's confounding the Gut of Canso with the narrow strait connecting Anisquam with Gloucester Harbor, which makes Cape Ann an island, and so duplicating Cape Breton and St. Johan and Port Real and Isla Primera (?) and New-found-land at the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

Early, also, came with Ribero, 1529, the name St. Christopher, which clings with great persistence on the maps of the sixteenth century, and in unvarying succession northward, with the bay or river of San Antonio (Jones's River), and Montana Verde (Blue Hills of Milton). South or east of this group is C. de Arenas (or some modification of the Latin for keel or sand—Cape Cod); north of it, more or less distant, the Bay of St. John the Baptist; and farther on, Cape Breton (Cape Ann). If the circumstance that Plymouth inner harbor is bare, or nearly so, at low tide, suggested to the early navigator the idea of wading, and so the use of the name of the Saint, we have a point to which the varying geographical names, within certain limits, may be referred for adjustment. But this I will not pursue further here.

V.

All the above suggestions as to the site of the Norumbega of Cabot must eventually revolve about, and be in harmony with, the requirements of the latitude.

On the map of Lok, 1582, the sketch of Cabot against Claudia lies, as nearly as may be, between 42° and 43° N. This latitude or belt includes the region between the northern portion of the peninsula of Cape Cod and, on the Coast Survey map, a point just north of the mouth of the Merrimack.

On Wytfliet, 1597, it is in about 44°.

On the Spanish Map-a-Mundi, 1527, (in J. C. Brevoort's Verrazano), the region would be between 40° and 47° N.

On Maggiolo's Verrazano (Winsor's America), it would be south of 40°, while on that of Hieronymus Verrazano, it would be north of 45°.

On the Dauphin map, 1543, it would be between 41° and 44° N.

On Ulpius' Globe, between 40° and 45° N.

On Ruscelli, 1561, it is between 40° and 50°. But he includes, as I conceive, within the same latitudes as does Gastaldi, 1550, the principal islands off the coast of Maine from Mount Desert, southward.

On Ribero, 1529, it is between 41° and 44°.

On Vallard, 1543, it is between 42° and 45°.

On the (so called) Sebastian Cabot map, 1544, it is between 41° and 44°.

Thevet, 1556, who claims to have personally visited the region, says, distinctly, it (Norumbegue) "lies in the 43d degree"; that is, between 42° and 43° N.

Ogilby says (p. 138) * * "Norumbegua, most of it, being under the forty-third degree of latitude."

Allefonsce, the pilot of Robeval in 1540, who coasted the shores of New England, says (MSS. in Bibliothéque Nat.): "The cape of St. John called Cape Breton" (these are names on Cabot's chart, Lok's map, 1582,) "and the Cape San Franciscane are northeast and southwest, and range a point from an east and west course," * * * * "and there are one hundred and forty leagues on the course, and which makes one cape, called the Cape of Norembegue. The said cape is in forty-one degrees of the height of the Arctic pole. The said coast is all sandy * * flat,

without any mountain, and along this coast there are many isles of sand and the coast very dangerous on account of banks and rocks." This description agrees well with the region of Cape Cod from Nantucket to Nahant. The Cape San Franciscane may have been Montauk, which is tolerably near to a prolongation of the range from Cape Ann, as given by Allefonsce.

This relation is of interest as determining the identity of the Cape Norombegue, of Allefonsce, with Cape Cod, which is, he says, "through" (in the degree next above) "forty-one degrees of the height of the Arctic pole." Cape Malebar is between 41° and 42°; and the 42nd crosses the peninsula just south of Provincetown, near the extreme point of the Cape.

Allefonsce proceeds to say:

"Beyond the Cape of Norombegue the River of the said Norombegue descends about twenty-five leagues from the Cape."

I cite this testimony of Allefonsce in regard to the latitude of the region of Norombegue, as his profession was that of pilot; and his testimony unimpeachable; and he may be fairly presumed to be not more than one degree, at the utmost, out of the way, in a matter of latitude. I cite him, also, because he endorses, in regard to latitude, the statement of Thevet, which statement by itself would, perhaps, be less entitled to confidence.

Within this belt of latitude of 42° to 43°, between Cape Cod and Cape Ann—the Carenas and Cape Breton of Cabot, (the latter the Cape Breton of Allefonsce, as well)—within this belt, there is but one outline, with an opposing island, to which the terms Norumbega and Nahumbeak apply; and that is the outline of which the Norum—the Nahum—the Tongue—is Salem Neck.

VI.

NORUMBEGA OR NORUMBEGUE OF CHAMPLAIN.

The suggestion that Norumbega lay in higher latitude rests, or is supposed to rest, on the authority of Champlain. From him and his surveys, Lescarbot and DeLaet—copied by Montanus and Ogilby, derive their authority. Champlain spent three summers in the examination of the New England Coast, and yet did not discover the mouth of the Charles, and only glanced at the mouth of the Merrimack. Champlain was looking for a town of Norumbega. He distinctly says he found nothing corresponding with the descriptions he had read, although he writes Norembegue along the coast between the Kennebec and Penobscot.*

In studying Champlain's original paper it is seen that he regarded the latitude of Norumbega as only very imperfectly settled; and having learned from Allefonsce [and Thevet?] of a *river* Norumbegue, and having failed to recognize the Charles, and having merely glanced at the

^{*} Rev. Mr. Slafter, p. 107, in his carefully-prepared paper on Champlain, "Winsor's America," referring to the stay and work of Champlain for three summers, says: "The first of these surveys was made during the month of September, 1604. This expedition was under the sole direction of Champlain, and was made in a barque of seventeen or eighteen tons, manned by twelve sailors and with two Indians as guides. He examined the coast from the mouth of the St. Croix to the Penobscot. * * * Sailing up the Penobscot, called by the Indians Pentagoet, and by Europeans who have passed along the coast, the Norumbegue (as he supposed), he explored this river to the head of tide-water, at the present City of Bangor, where a fall in the river intercepted his course. In the interior along the shores of the river, he saw scarcely any inhabitants; but by a very careful examination he was satisfied beyond a doubt that the story, which had gained currency from a period as far back as the time of Allefonsce, about a large native town in the vicinity, whose inhabitants had attained to some of the higher arts of civilization, was wholly without foundation."



1. Portemonth.
2. 1992.
3. Spamenticus.
4. Saco.
5. Richmond Schand.
6. Openo.
7. Vabrino.
8. Sagadahor River.
10. Sheepscott River.
10. Sheepscott River.
11. Pronaguid.
12. Monkeyano Schand.
13. Hys Slands.
14. Sepa an hand.
16. Spreading.
16. Shound, Decent.
17. Kennetes River.
18. Spreading River.
19. Spreading River.
19. Spreading River.
19. Spreading River.
20. La Varye's Valands.

mouth of the Merrimack, he assumed, at first, that the site must be on the Penobscot, as it was, he judged, the only river considerable enough to be so distinguished. Although in the end he discredits the whole theory and notion on which he at first acted, such was the currency gained through his great name, that, solely from his having looked for the site of the town on the Penobscot, all writers upon Norumbega since his time have assumed that somewhere on this river the town once existed, and its remains might some day be found.

Dr. Palfrey, in his history of New England (probably from having carefully examined Champlain's narration), ignored the whole story of Norumbega, although the name appears in Capt. John Smith, DeLaet, Montanus, Cluverius, Heylin, Lescarbot, Laudonniere, Ogilby, and others, and is found on a great series of maps,* and even has a place in "Paradise Lost" (liber X).

A glance at the Coast Survey map from the mouth of the Merrimack northward to the St. John's, will be sufficient to show that there is nothing there, even if the adverse latitudes were left out of account, to correspond with the outline on Cabot's map from Cape Breton (Cape Ann) to Carenas (Cape Cod).

The accompanying sketch presents the Coast of Maine from Portsmouth to Campobello, including the region specially examined for Norumbega by Champlain.

*Allefonsce,	1540-45.	Michael Lok,	1582.
Thevet,	1556.	Judaeis,	1593.
Zaltieri,	1566.	DeBry,	1596.
Ortelius,	1570.	Wytfliet,	1597.
John Dee,	1580.	Quadus,	1600.
		— Wi	nsor's America.

VII.

NORUMBEGA AS A RIVER, FORT AND TOWN.

It will have been observed that the testimony of Allefonsce and Thevet in regard to Norumbega as a *country* had a more limited and specific application than that of most of their contemporaries of the 16th, and successors of the 17th century.

Allefonsce says: "Beyond the Cape of Norumbegue the river of the said Norumbegue descends about twenty-five leagues from the Cape" (Cape Cod). "The said river is * * * * full of isles which stretch out ten or twelve leagues in the sea (Maffit's Ledge, Roaring Bulls, Lizard, Graves, &c.), and it is very dangerous on account of rocks and swashings."

- "The said river is through (i. e., next above) forty-two degrees of the height of the Arctic pole."
- "Up the said river, fifteen leagues there is a town which is called Norombegue, and there is in it a good people, and they have many peltries of many kinds of animals."

Allefonsce, whose relation is largely a sailor's disjointed aggregation of instructions for the guidance of mariners, says, for example:

"In going from the said river (Norumbegue), one hundred and fifty leagues, there is an Island which is called Vermonde (Bermuda), which is in thirty-three degrees of north latitude."

And in the next sentence he says, instructing how to find the "Ville"—settlement—of Norumbegue:

"And on the side toward the west of the said 'ville,' there is a range of rocks which extends into the sea fifteen leagues distant (Marblehead), and on the side towards the north (of Marblehead) there is a bay, in which is an isle which is very subject to tempests and cannot be inhabited (Baker's Island").

Again he says:

"The river of Norumbegue turns southwest around the coast away to the west at least two hundred leagues to a great bay (Vineyard Sound and Buzzard's Bay), which at its entrance is about twenty leagues wide, and at least twenty-nine leagues northward in this bay are four islands joined together." (Naushaun, Pasque, Nashawena, and Cuttyhunk.)

Allefonsce had the idea that he had been sailing along the skirt of an archipelago.

He says, referring to a bay about Charleston or Savannah, that as he was unable to converse with the natives, he was not certain where the River Norumbegue communicated with the ocean. He also thinks it may connect with the St. Lawrence.*

The latitude (next above the 42d degree), can apply only to the mouth of the Charles River. Regarding the mouth as at the entrance to the Back Bay (so called Cottage Farms Station on the Boston and Albany Railroad), the latitude is 42° 21′ 30″. Regarded as at the entrance to Cohasset rocks, it is 42° 16′.

^{*} Ramusio says (Kohl, Maine His. Soc. Coll., p. 380. Diego Homem):

[&]quot;From the Reports of Cartier, we are not clear as yet, whether New France is continuous with the Terra Firma of the provinces of Florida and New Spain, or whether it is all cut up into islands, and whether through these parts, one can go to the province of Cataio, as was written to me many years ago by Master Sebastian Cabot, our Venetian."

Thus it appears that whether or not New England was an archipelago was not settled—at least to the satisfaction of Ramusio, as late as 1556.

The nearest river north is the Merrimack in 42° 49′, and there are no lslands at the mouth of that river.

There is no other stream of any considerable length between Boston Harbor and Cape Cod.

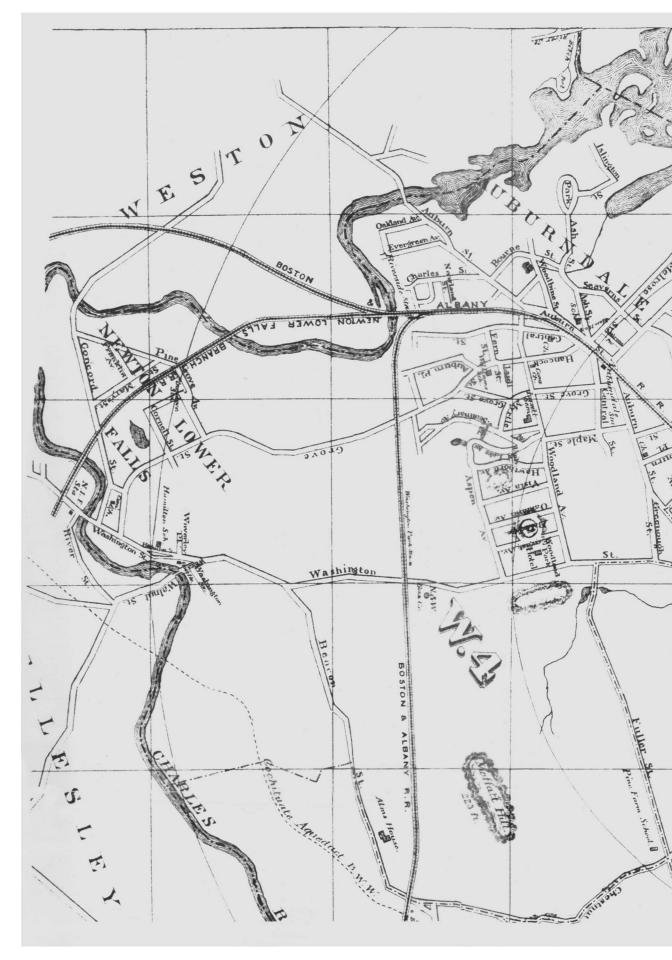
Fifteen leagues up the Charles River there was then, according to Allefonsce, a *town*, or *hamlet*, or *settlement*, called Norumbegue.

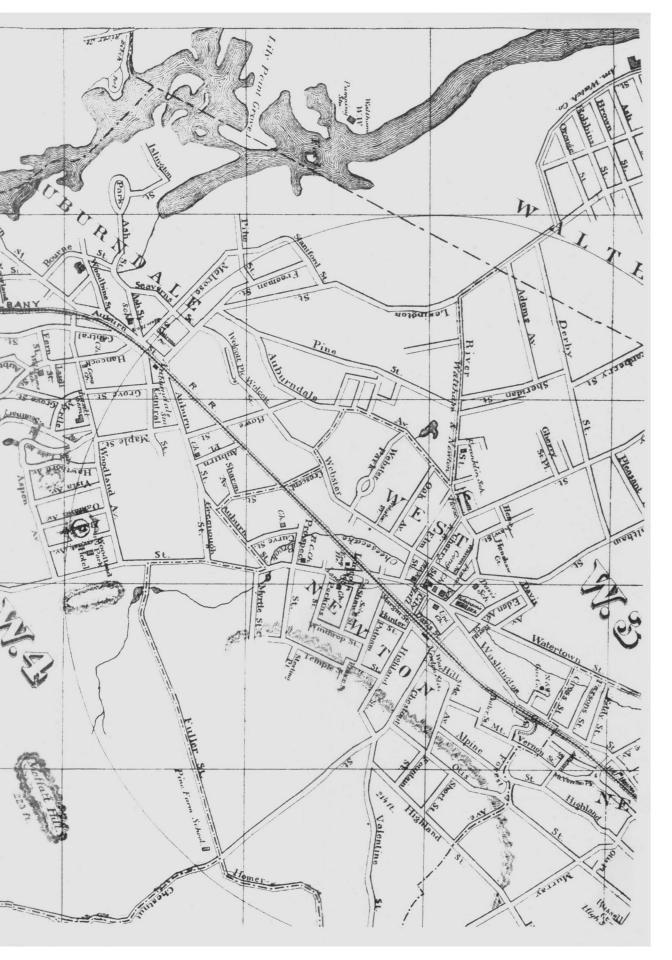
Now, we have already seen that this name—Norumbegue—means a bay from the bottom of which rises a tongue—a divider—a Norum; (or it may mean the Norum of the bay), and this involves a sheet of water with a somewhat peculiarly scalloped shore. There is but one sheet of water on the Charles where these conditions occur, and that lies between Riverside, on the Boston and Albany Railroad, and Waltham, the city of watch manufacture, two miles to the north. Along the shores of this sheet of water, some mile and a half in length and of varying width, from a few rods to half a mile, there are several Norumbegas—not towns (or settlements of to-day), but peculiar forms of the shore. The most striking are on the west side of the river, between the mouth of Stony Brook and Waltham.

I introduce here a map of the river, which, owing to a rare grouping of glacial moraines for some distance above and below the mouth of Stony Brook, presents a most unexampled outline of shore.*

The next author who, so far as the *latitude* is concerned, is endorsed by Allefonsce, is Thevet. Beyond this, Thevet's support is in the *portrait* of the *localities* he has drawn. He says (Dr. Kohl, Maine His. Soc. Coll.):

^{*} What evidences there are of the existence of one or more ancient Indian villages in this neighborhood will be presented in my full paper.





"Some people would make me believe that this country (Norumbegue) is the proper country of Canada. But I told them that this was far from the truth, since the country lies in 43° N., and that of Canada in 50° or 52°."

That is, it lies within the 43d degree, or between Cape Cod and a point a little north of the Merrimack, or, as Allefonsce read it, through, or in the next above 42° N.

Thevet gives instructions to mariners. He says:

"Having left La Florida" (the name first appearing on Verrazano's map, 1527, east of the isthmus described by Hieronymus Verrazano as six miles wide, and which separated the Mare Varrazano—the Atlantic south of Barnstable—from Massachusetts Bay), "on the left hand, with all its islands, gulfs and capes, a river presents itself which is one of the finest rivers of the whole world, which we call Norumbegue, and the aborigines Agoncy, and which is marked on some charts as the Grand River. Several other beautiful rivers enter into it; and upon its banks the French formerly erected a little fort some ten or twelve leagues from its mouth, which was surrounded by fresh water, which flows here into the river, and this place was named the Fort of Norumbeque.

"Before you enter the said river appears an island surrounded by eight ve.y small islets, which are near the Green Mountains (Blue Hills) and to the cape of the islets" (Cohasset).

On Huth's map of Dr. Kohl (No. 1, of the page of outline charts, Maine His. Soc., p. 315) appears the circle of islets, eight in number, around another island, and the following names, the "C. de muchas islas," the "R. de gomez," "de estevan gomez." There is just below, or south of the Cohasset breakers, an irregular circle of eight

islands around a ninth near the shore, which is given in detail on the Coast Survey map entitled *Minot's Ledge*, which locality I have visited for the purpose of testing Thevet's account.

"From there," continues Thevet, "you sail all along unto the mouth of the river, which is dangerous from the great number of thick and high rocks (Cohasset rocks, Minot's ledges, the Lizard, Graves, &c.), and its entrance is wonderfully large. About three leagues into the river" (measuring from Cohasset) "an island presents itself to you, and may have four leagues in circumference, inhabited only by some fishermen and birds of different sorts, which island they call Aiayascon (Nantasket), because it has the form of a man's arm, which they call so."

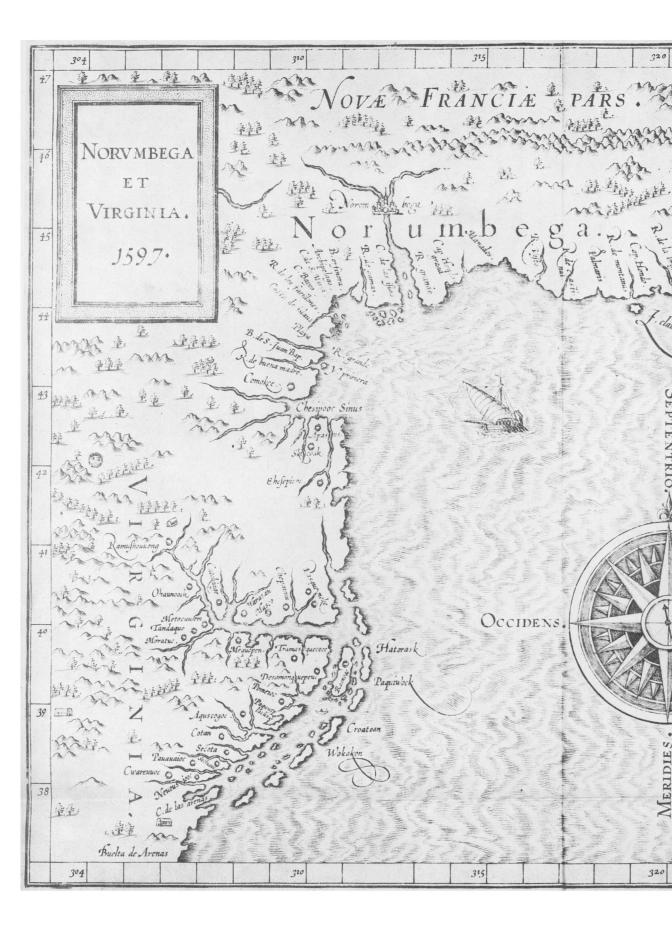
Aiayascon is the Iroquois for arm (Gallatin, DeLaet, Montanus), and a glance at the Coast Survey map, remembering that the Indian name describes the locality to which it is affixed, will leave no doubt that the point Thevet described was Nantasket. The longer north and south portion was the arm above the elbow; the east and west portion, terminating at Hull, was the portion of the arm below the elbow.

Possibly Nantasket, to the student of comparative Indian philology, may contain reminiscences of Aiayascon.

The Iroquois and Algonquins were at war, and at this period, as Thevet describes in his account, the Iroquois were temporarily in possession of a part of the territory.

Aiayascon and Agoncy were Iroquois words. Norumbega was an Algonquin word. The name Agoncy means "the head," and Thevet seems to think it applied to a rock.

The French had appropriated the name of Norumbega. It had already been extended from the coast outline at





Salem over a country stretching, in the notion of some, through many degrees of latitude.

Allefonsce applied it to a cape (Cape Cod). It had been applied to the principal river (the Charles). It was borne by an Indian town (Allefonsce and Ingram), and lastly it had been given to a fort on the banks of the Charles, at the junction of a branch of this river with the main stream.

This location of Norumbega was recognized in various ways with greater or less distinctness on a multitude of maps.

On that of Homem it appears, as I conceive, as a flag near the head of a river, with a display of peaked rocks described by Allefonsce.

It appears, as I conjecture, in the towers and gateway between, of a fort; and near it the cluster of peaked rocks, referred to by Allefonsce, on the Dauphin map of 1543.

At the junction of two rivers the fort itself, or a town, appears on the map of Wytfliet. It is also on the map of Theyet and on Mercator's.

The name or junction is indicated on Freire, 1546; on Jomard, 155?; John Dee, 1580; De Bry, 1596; Quadus, 1600.

The circlet of islands described by Thevet is, perhaps, indicated on Zaltieri, 1566, and Porcacchi, 1572, but most distinctly on the map of Huth, copied by Dr. Kohl.

As a country it was made by some (Laudonniere and others) to extend from beyond the St. Lawrence to Florida.

Smith made the southern boundary contiguous with Virginia, which then included a part of the present New England.

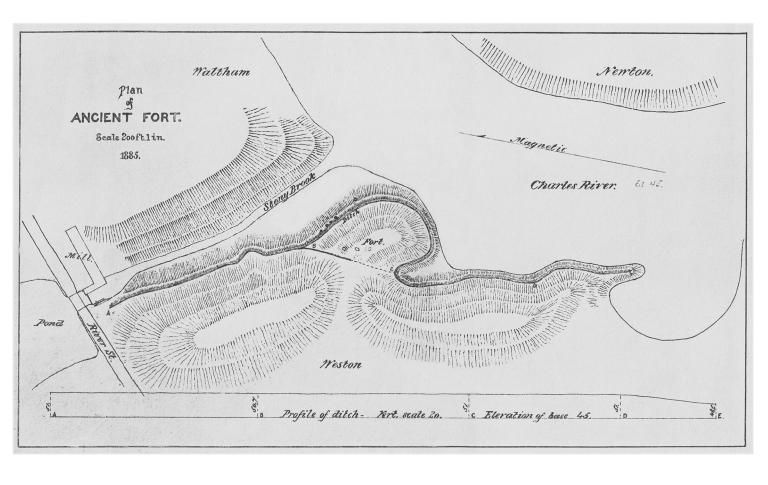
It certainly underlaid the New France of Verrazano, the Francisca of the Ptolemy of 1530, Franciscane of Allefonsce, La Nuova Francia, or La Nova Franza, &c., of Gastaldi, 1550; of Zaltieri, 1566; of Orteleus of 1570; Judaeis, 1595; DeBry, 1596; Quadus, 1600; and Hondius, 1607.

They placed the fort at or near the junction of two streams, which united to form the Rio Gamas, or the Rio Grande, or Buena Madre, which uniformly terminated in an archipelago, sometimes called the Archipelago of Gomez, or St. Mary's, at the entrance to which was the Cabo de Muchas Islas, or Cape de lagus Islas, or Cape St. Mary's, &c.

When I had read these relations, and studied these maps, and compared them with other ancient maps, and those of recent date of the counties and towns of Massachusetts in my possession, and it had become clear to me that they described a locality at the junction of Stony Brook with the Charles River, in the Town of Weston, County of Middlesex, I drove with a friend, from Cambridge, through a region I had never before visited, of the topography of which I knew nothing, except as indicated on the maps, to the junction of Stony Brook and the Charles, where I found the remains of the Fort of which I enclose the accompanying survey, made by the Engineer of the Cambridge City Water Works.

The plan sustains the description of Thevet, in regard to the ditch and general features.

The Agoncy of Thevet—the head—a high, isolated, rounded rock, and the traces of an ancient Indian village near are on the line of the ditch, which takes the water from Stony Brook.



I found, on enquiry, that the ditch has been known to the proprietor from his boyhood. He supposed it had served for purposes of irrigation. But, though the property had been in his family for a century or more, he had never heard of its being used for any purpose whatever. The ditch is altogether about 2,300 feet long, of uniform level from the point on Stony Brook where the water was received, to near where it discharged beyond the Fort into the Charles.

I forbear further details at present, both as to the results of excavations made and the attempt to determine the locations mentioned by Ingram, adding simply an outline map of the Coast Survey and the Cabot sketch, and a legend that explains itself.

Holl,

23. St. Johan of J. Cabot

and Allefonsce, 24. Aredonda of J. Cabot,

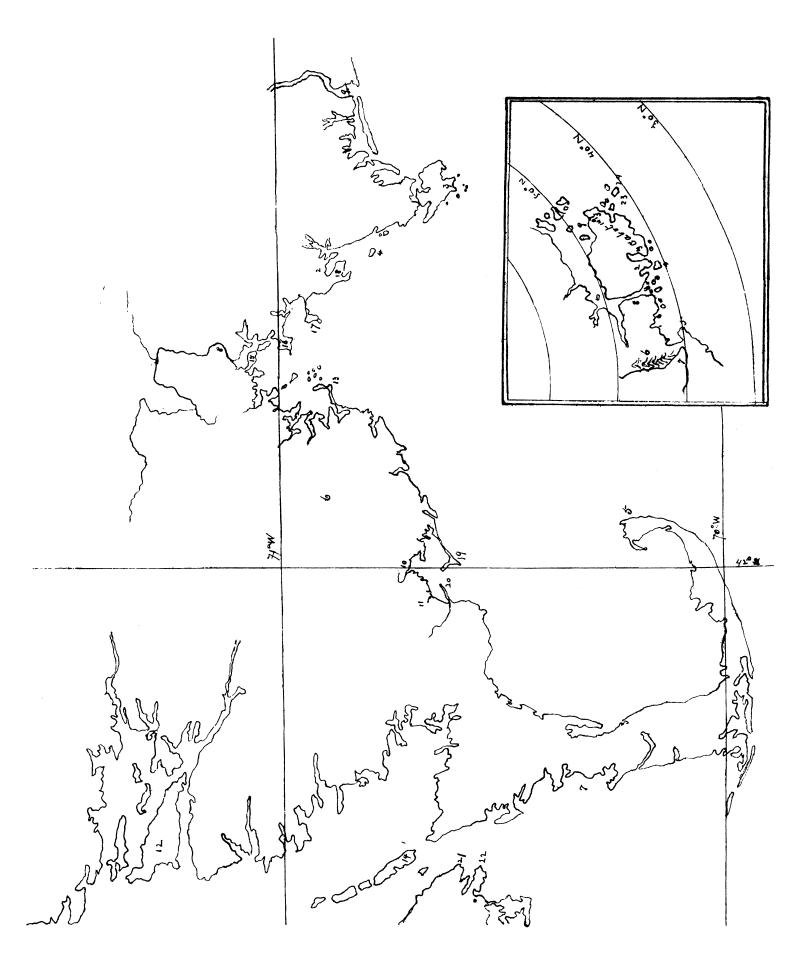
Legend.

Coast Survey Chart, with some ancient names and points indicated, and identified with modern names and localities.

100	annes.		
1.	Fort Norumbegue,	Mouth of Stony Brook, right bank.	
2.	Norombega of J. Cabot, 1497,	Salem Neck and North and South Rivers.	
3.	Cape Breton,	Cape Ann.	
4.	Claudia, Brisa, Briso, and Yla Primera.	Baker's Island and Breakers.	
5.	Carenas,	C. de Arenas, Cape Cod.	
6.	Montes Johannis,	Blue Hills, Milton.	
7.	Isthmus of Verrazano,	Neck of Peninsula of Cape Cod, near Barnstable.	
8.	River of Norombegue of Allefonsce,	Charles River.	
9.	Mouth of Merrimack?	and St. Lawrence?	
1 0.	10. Plymouth Beach, (outside of Bay of St. Christopher?)		
11.	Rio Sanantonio,	Jones River, separating Accomac from the Peninsula.	
12 .	B. Espiritu Santo,	Bay and Island of Newport.	
13.	Aiayascon,	Nantasket.	
14.	Na-sha-un,	Naushaun.	
1 5.	Sha-um-ut,	Boston.	
16	Norman Villa?	Winthrop Point ?—Nahant?	
17.	C. de Lisarte of Cosa,	Nahant?	
18.	Nahum-keake,	Marblehead and Neck, and bay between.	
19.	Crossa-ness of the Norsemen,		
2 0.	Plymouth Beach.		
21, 22. East and West chop			
,	at entrance to Holmes'		

Martha's Vineyard.

One of Turk's Heads of Smith. Another of Turk's Heads of Smith?



VIII.

It remains to take from Allefonsce's relation one passage more.* It touches the assumption with which this letter opened.

I directed attention to Cabot's sketch in Lok's map of 1582, in which is an island, the inscription "John Cabot, 1497," the names Norombega, Cape Breton and St. Johan, and the outline of shore against Claudia in latitude between 42° and 43° north.

I have assumed the Cape Breton of Cabot to be the Cape Ann of to-day. The doubt is whether the language of Allefonsce applied to the Cape Breton at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, the latitude of which is in about 46° 15′ north.

Allefonsce says: "Le dict Cap Breton de la mer oceane est par quarante et deux degrez de la haulteur du polle Artique."

"The said Cape Breton of the ocean is through (that is next to, and above) forty-two degrees of north latitude."

^{*&}quot; Je ditz que ce Cap de Ratz et le Cap de Breton et plus de ports en le mer oceane qui est une isle appellée aussi S. Jehan, sur lest Nord est et ouest sud ouest. Il y a en la route quarte vingt lieues. Le dict Cap Breton de la mer oceane est par quarante et deux degrez haulteur du polle Artique.

[†] The transfer of Cape Breton from latitude 42° 38′ to latitude 46° 15′ was but three degrees and a half; while the transfer in longitude was more than ten degrees. Longitude and distance were of course liable to be greatly at fault, while latitude was observed to within a degree. This transfer may have been in part due, as already intimated, to mis aking the Gut of Canso for the strait connecting Annisquam with Gloucester harbor, which separates Cape Ann (as an island) from the main land; and also from confounding the castern coast of New-found-land (the name by which Norombega, the region discovered by John Cabot, was known to Henry VII.), its many bays, indentations of the coast and mountains, with the group of islands from Mount Desert southward. Cape Race is given on the map of Gastaldi almost in the latitude of Cape Breton [Cape Ann], and Mercator (1569) divides Newfoundland into several Islands.

The change may have been made by Sebastian Cabot, who, in the voyage of 1498, seems to have sailed by, without notice, the site of his father's Landfall! Sebastian Cabot is a mystery!

Now the latitude of Cape Ann on the United States Coast Survey map is 42° 38′ N.

Having placed the Cape Breton and the River Norumbegue and the bay and neck between, of Norumbega, within the limits of the forty-third degree, there is nothing further of assumption requiring authority for support.

IX.

Conclusions.

I submit—

1st. That the site of the Landfall of John Cabot in 1497 has been determined to be Salem Neck, in 42° 32′ north latitude; the Norum (the Neck, to one standing on it) of the Norumbega of Cabot, and the Nahum of the Nahumbeak of Ogilby and Smith. The first land *seen* may have been Cape Ann, or possibly the mountain, Agamenticus.

2d. That the town of Norumbegue, on the River of Norumbegue of Allefonsce, and the Fort of Norumbegue and the village of Agoncy of Thevet, were on the Charles River between Riverside and Waltham, at the mouth of Stony Brook, in latitude 42° 21′ north.*

3d. That John Cabot preceded Columbus in the discovery of America.

I am, very truly, yours,

E. N. Horsford.

^{*} Middlesex County, State of Massachusetts, U. S. A.

It is proper here to express my great indebtedness to Mr. Winsor, who has kindly permitted me to see advance sheets of the elaborate papers by himself, by Mr. Charles Deane, Rev. Mr. Slafter, the late Mr. George Dexter, Rev. Mr. DeCosta, and others, relating to the early discovery of our shores, in his great work on America; and has further allowed me to trace for my own use in this study, many maps to me otherwise quite inaccessible.

X.

P. S.—I enclose a set of heliotype maps and sketches for your use in reference, all of which will appear in their proper places in my full paper.

Map of Michael Lok, 1582, containing John Cabot's Chart of 1497.

Map of Cosa, 1500. Stevens' copy.

Map of Cosa, 1500. Kohl's copy.

Map of Cosa, 1500. Tracing from Jomard.

Map of Sebastian Cabot, 1544.

Map of Hieronymus Verrazano, 1529.

Map of Maiollo's Verrazano, 1527.

Map of Ribero.

Map of Vallard.

Map of Ulpius' Globe.

Map of Thorne.

Map of Homem.

Map of Gastaldi.

Map of Ruscelli.

Map called "the Dauphin" map, made by order of Henry II.

Map of Oviedo.

Sketch by Allefonsce.

Map of Thevet.

Map of Mercator.

Map of Champlain.

Map of Lescarbot.

Map of DeLaet.

John Smith's Map. 1634.

Winthrop's Map of 1634.

U. S. Coast Survey Maps and Tracings.

Tracings of various outlines of Naames-Keaket.

Charles River between Waltham and Riverside—part of official map of Newton and surrounding towns.

Survey of Fort of Norumbega.

Numerous tracings of Maps of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Note to page 64.—Instead of "Lescarbot and De Laet, copied by Montanus and Ogilby," read "Lescarbot and others, including Montanus, copied by Ogilby."